

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 09343 01 OF 02 231651Z

41

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 089386

O 231605Z NOV 76

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3769

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 9343

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: BRITISH STRATEGY

DEPT PASS LONDON

FOR SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

1. I CALLED ON TONY DUFF, ROBIN BYATT AND HENRY STEEL
THIS MORNING. DUFF WANTED TO BRIEF ME ON IVOR RICHARD'S
CONSULTATIONS IN LONDON.

2. ACCORDING TO DUFF, IT WAS CLEAR THAT LONDON
WANTED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MAKE SURE THE
CONFERENCE WOULD NOT BREAK UP OVER THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE
ISSUE. RICHARD HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS HE SHOULD
RETURN TO GENEVA AND CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT WITH A VIEW TO FINDING A COMPROMISE
FORMULA.

3. RICHARD WILL MEET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THIS AFTERNOON
AT 4:00 P.M. AND WILL TRY TO NEGOTIATE A
DOCUMENT WHICH PRESERVES THE LINKAGE BETWEEN
THE DATE OF ELECTIONS AND THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE.
A VARIETY OF FORMULAE WERE BEING DRAFTED DURING
DUFF'S AND MY SESSION.

4. THE BRITISH ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 09343 01 OF 02 231651Z

OF SUCCESS. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS MADE IT ABSOLUTELY

CLEAR THEY WANT A FIXED DATE OF INDEPENDENCE AND ARE NOT WILLING TO MAKE IT CONDITIONAL ON THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS. AT THE LAST MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, MUZENDA, FROM MUGABE'S DELEGATION, TOLD RICHARD THAT THE NATIONALISTS WANT A FIRM DATE OF INDEPENDENCE AND INSISTED ON BRITAIN AGREEING TO IT, EVEN IN THE EVENT ELECTIONS ARE NOT HELD. NOR ARE THE BRITISH CERTAIN WHAT MUGABE'S LONG-TERM INTENTIONS ARE. THEY ARE NOT SURE IF HE AND HIS DELEGATION WISH TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA GOING, ONLY TO BUILD UP THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND WRECK THE CONFERENCE AT A LATER DATE, OR WHETHER MUGABE AND HIS GROUP ARE SIMPLY BEING DIFFICULT ON THIS ISSUE. (A SENIOR MEMBER OF MUZOREWA'S DELEGATION TOLD ME ON NOVEMBER 22 THAT DOS SANTOS AND CHISSANO CALLED ON MUZOREWA THE PRECEDING DAY TO SAY THEY DID NOT WANT THE CONFERENCE TO BREAK UP BUT INSISTED THAT THE NATIONALISTS STAY TOGETHER AND FORCE THE BRITISH TO CONCEDE A FIXED DATE OF INDEPENDENCE.)

5. DUFF POINTED OUT THAT THE BRITISH CABINET TOLD RICHARD IT WOULD NOT ACCEPT AN UNCONDITIONAL DATE OF INDEPENDENCE. HENRY STEEL ADDED THAT WE MUST ALL KEEP IN MIND THE IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING ELECTIONS. OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE IS TO PRODUCE A MODERATE GOVERNMENT IN RHODESIA WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE STABILITY OF SOUTHER AFRICA. IT WOULD BE EASY FOR THE BRITISH TO REACH THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE AND SIMPLY TRANSFER POWER TO THE MOST IMMEDIATE OR POWERFUL PARTY. BY DOING SO, BRITAIN WOULD OPEN THE DOOR TO ANARCHY AND WHAT WE HAVE ALL SOUGHT IN SOUTHER AFRICA WOULD BE COMPROMISED. "THERE IS A SLIM CHANCE THAT ELECTIONS WILL PRODUCE A MORE VIABLE SOLUTION," STEEL ADDED, IMPLYING THAT AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE IN THE HANDS OF ZIPA RADICALS. BRITAIN, STEEL CONTINUED, COULD AGREE TODAY TO A FIRM DATE OF INDEPENDENCE AND, IF ON THE EVE OF INDEPENDENCE, ELECTIONS HAD NOT BEEN HELD, DELAY A FORMAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE UNTIL THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WAS COMPLETED. STEEL FELT THAT PURSUING SUCH A COURSE WOULD BE EXTREMELY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 09343 01 OF 02 231651Z

DANGEROUS. ON THE EVE OF INDEPENDENCE, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD COME UNDER EXTRAORDINARY PRESSURE FROM HOME AND WITHIN RHODESIA TO PACK UP AND GET OUT. A BRITISH GOVERNOR GENERAL WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO WITHSTAND THIS PRESSURE, AND HE AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD WELL BE FORCED TO ABANDON AUTHORITY TO THE PARTY EXERTING THE GREATEST PRESSURE.

6. I REMINDED THE BRITISH THAT WE HAD NO INDICATION HOW SMITH WOULD REACT TO A FIXED DATE OF INDEPENDENCE WHICH WAS NOT CONDITIONED ON THE COMPLETION OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES. I SUSPECTED THAT SMITH WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY WITH SUCH A SOLUTION. DUFF AGREED THAT THE BRITISH DID NOT KNOW HOW SMITH WOULD REACT, AND ACCEPTED MY POINT THAT SMITH COULD TURN SUCH A SOLUTION DOWN. (I DETECTED AGAIN, IN THE COURSE OF THIS PORTION OF THE DISCUSSION, THAT THE BRITISH HAVE A TENDENCY TO ASSUME WE CAN PRODUCE SMITH ON CALL.)

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 09343 02 OF 02 231711Z

41

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 089637

O 231605Z NOV 76

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3770

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 9343

NODIS

7. DURING THE TALKS IN LONDON, THE BRITISH HAD ALSO COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO SPLIT NKOMO AND MUGABE AT THIS JUNCTURE AND WOULD NOT SEEK TO DO SO. THEY COULD NOT CARRY ON THE CONFERENCE IF NKOMO AND MUGABE WALKED OUT AND IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE TO CONTINUE IF MUGABE DEPARTED.

8. TURNING TO THE FUTURE, DUFF SAID THAT IF IT PROVED IMPOSSIBLE DURING THE COURSE OF THE WEEK TO SETTLE THE INDEPENDENCE DATE ISSUE, LONDON HAD SEEMED TENTATIVELY INTERESTED IN THE POSSIBILITY OF A SHORT RECESS DURING WHICH TIME CONSULTATIONS WOULD ENSURE IN AFRICA AND WITH US. DUFF DID NOT LEAVE ME THE IMPRESSION THAT LONDON'S DECISION WAS FINAL AND I BELIEVE THAT A FURTHER COMMUNICATION WOULD BE REQUIRED BEFORE THE RECESS IS AUTHORIZED.

9. RETURNING TO THE THEME HE DEVELOPED WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY REINHARDT, DUFF WENT ON TO SAY THAT IF THE CONFERENCE RECESSED AND CONSULTATIONS WHICH FOLLOWED ON THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE PROVED TO BE INCONCLUSIVE, IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE AT THE END OF THE RECESS TO RETURN TO GENEVA. "WE MIGHT NEED TO TAKE A DEEP BREATH AND START AGAIN," DUFF SAID, "THOUGH I DON'T WANT TO DRAW TOO CLOSE A COMPARISON, WE MIGHT HAVE TO CONSIDER SOMETHING LIKE YOUR SHUTTLE." DURING A "SHUTTLE," WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE CLOSELY COORDINATED ANGLO-AMERICAN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 09343 02 OF 02 231711Z

AFFAIR, AN EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO BUILD A NEW FRAMEWORK BEFORE THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT PLACE AGAIN.
"PROCEEDING FROM THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF DR. KISSINGER," DUFF SAID WE WOULD SEEK TO BUILD ON SMITH'S ACCEPTANCE OF MAJORITY RULE AND AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND AFRICAN WILLINGNESS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSES OF DESIGNING A NEW FRAMEWORK WOULD BE TO OBTAIN THE COMMITMENT OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS ON HOW TO INVOLVE ZIPA AND ENSURE THAT IT ACTS RESPONSIBLY.

10. I TOLD DUFF THAT THE THOUGHT OF A NEW "SHUTTLE" WAS NOT AN ATTRACTIVE ONE. IF WE HAVE LEARNED ANYTHING IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, I ARGUED, WE KNOW THAT THE PRESIDENTS DO NOT GIVE UNAMBIGUOUS ASSURANCES - PARTICULARLY AS THEY RELATE TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS. MOREOVER, AS COMPLICATED AS THE LAST SHUTTLE HAS BEEN, THERE WOULD BE NO WAY TO AVOID DETAILED CONSULTATIONS WITH THE NATIONALISTS. SHOULD THE CONFERENCE ADJOURN AND THE NATIONALISTS BE DISPERSED THROUGHOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA, IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO INVOLVE THEM IN MEANINGFUL CONSULTATIONS. I SUGGESTED TO DUFF THAT, AT A MINIMUM, WE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE FACT THAT THE NATIONALISTS ARE ALL PRESENT IN GENEVA AND ARE NOT INCLINED FOR THE MOMENT TO LEAVE.

11. WHILE DUFF AGREED WITH MY ARGUMENTS IN PRINCIPLE, HE HAS NOT GIVEN UP HIS BELIEF THAT THE CONFERENCE MAY HAVE TO ADJOURN AND EVENTUALLY A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS BE NEGOTIATED. NEITHER BYATT NOT STEEL QUESTIONED THE APPROACH DUFF ADVANCED; BRIDGET BLOOM'S NOV 23 ARTICLE ALSO SUGGESTS THAT IVOR RICHARD AND LONDON MAY BE CONSIDERING DUFF'S VIEWS ON ADJOURNMENT AND A NEW ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS.

12. COMMENT: AS A RESULT OF HIS LONDON CONSULTATIONS, RICHARD WILL TRY TO NEGOTIATE COMPROMISE LANGUAGE WITH

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND WILL POSTPONE FOR THE PRESENT,
A DECISION ON A RECESS. THE BRITISH DELEGATION IS NOT
OPTIMISTIC. THEY HAD HOPED AS LATE AS SATURDAY THAT
EITHER NKOMO WOULD FORCE MUGABE TO BACK OFF OR FINALLY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 09343 02 OF 02 231711Z

SPLIT WITH HIM. THESE HOPES FADED WITH NKOMO'S NOV 22
PRESS CONFERENCE. THE DELEGATION BELIEVES IT IS RUNNING
OUT OF FORMULAE WHICH WILL SOLVE THE DATE OF
INDEPENDENCE PROBLEM. THE FURSTRATION WHICH THE
DELEGATION FEELS MAY ACCOUNT FOR DUFF'S GLOOMY THINKING
ON NEXT STEPS. BRIDGET BLOOM'S NOVEMBER 23 ARTICLE
IN THE FINANCIAL TIMES SUGGESTS THAT THE DUFF THESIS
HAS CURRENCY IN LONDON.CATTO

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INDEPENDENCE, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, CAT-B, PROGRESS REPORTS, DEBRIEFINGS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 NOV 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976GENEVA09343
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761124/aaaaatwc.tel
Line Count: 241
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 MAY 2004 by woolflhd>; APPROVED <09 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: BRITISH STRATEGY
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, RH, UK
To: STATE SS LONDON
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006